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A Rebel Says C.I.A. Pledged Help in War Against Sandinistas

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WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 — A senior director of the largest Nicaraguan rebel force says the Central Intelligence Agency recruited him to serve as a director two years ago and told him, "We are going to help you change the Government in Managua and do it within a year."

The officer, speaking in an interview, asserted that the C.I.A. paid his family's expenses for more than a year and coached him and other rebel leaders on what to say in public so they would not anger members of Congress, who had to approve financing for the contras, as they are called.

In interviews at his home in Key Biscayne, Fla., Edgar Chamorro, one of the seven directors of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, gave a detailed description of the relationship between the the group and the C.I.A.

Mr. Chamorro said he was telling the story now, contrary to orders he and other rebel officers had received from the C.I.A., partly because he now believes that the United States is not likely to renew aid to the rebels. Aid was ended last spring.

Mr. Chamorro also said: "I resent some of the things the C.I.A. did. The agency wasn't teaching our men democracy. They taught only a series of tricks."

The C.I.A. declined comment today on Mr. Chamorro's remarks.

Mr. Chamorro's account was confirmed in large measure by intelligence officials in Washington and by other officers of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, although some rebel officers disputed Mr. Chamorro's interpretation of some events.

One of those officers, Alfonso Callejas, another of the group's directors, has acknowledged, however, that Mr. Chamorro "is an honest man" who "tells the truth."

Mr. Chamorro was in charge of publishing a C.I.A. manual that offered advice on guerrilla insurgency and political assassination.

A C.I.A. employee identified as John Kirkpatrick prepared the manual from an old United States Army psychological warfare primer, and Mr. Chamorro

said he was angry when he read the manual's final version last December.

Mr. Chamorro said he wrote a letter to the C.I.A.'s station chief in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, last December, complaining about the manual and about Mr. Kirkpatrick. A few days later, Mr. Chamorro said, he and other officers met with the station chief at his Tegucigalpa home, where Mr. Chamorro heatedly complained that Mr. Kirkpatrick "bypassed me."

C.I.A. Man 'Defensive'

Mr. Chamorro said he told the station chief that Mr. Kirkpatrick "wrote these terrible things into the book that were wrong." In response, the station chief "was very defensive of his men," Mr. Chamorro said.

Another C.I.A. official, in Miami, first approached Mr. Chamorro about serving as an officer in the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, in the fall of 1982, he said. He had been working for the rebel cause, but not in an official capacity.

The official, purportedly the head of the C.I.A.'s large Miami office, asked Mr. Chamorro if he would be willing to meet with a man from Washington, and a few days later "a man from the Government who said he was speaking for the President told me I could help the cause," he said.

The man "said they needed people who they could sell to Congress," which at that time was debating legislation to end United States aid to the rebels. "He said we needed to move quickly," Mr. Chamorro said.

C.I.A. Supports Family

At that time, the rebel group's directorate had a bad reputation in Washington and Nicaragua because of past links between some of its members and Nicaragua's former dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

Mr. Chamorro, a member of a prominent Nicaraguan family who was educated at Harvard and other American universities, said, "They were trying to repackage the F.D.N. for Congress," he said, using the group's Spanish initials, "and I was not a Somozista."

Mr. Chamorro agreed to serve and said the agency paid support for members of his family, who lived in Miami.

"They bargained with me; I was surprised," Mr. Chamorro said, but they agreed on a payment of about \$1,500 to \$2,000 a month. He said the agents advised him on how to declare the money for income taxes, telling him, "I should say I was a self-employed consultant."

Mr. Chamorro said he believed the agency made similar arrangements with the other six directors. But Mr. Callejas, who said he still holds hope that the United States will resume aid to the rebels, said he received no payments for support of his family.

'Customs Agents' for U.S.

At first, Mr. Chamorro said, the agency men told him: "We are going to change the Government in Managua and do it within a year. They spoke with a lot of confidence and a clear commitment."

But within a few months, Mr. Chamorro and other rebel leaders said, the C.I.A. agents "changed their tune," starting to talk about interdicting arms to Salvador, not about the rebels' cause.

Mr. Chamorro said, "They wanted us to become customs agents for the United States, or mercenaries."

In December 1982, Congress approved an amendment forbidding the C.I.A. to provide military aid "for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua." Instead, the Administration explained, the rebels were being paid to help interdict arms being smuggled from Nicaragua to Salvadoran insurgents.

All the F.D.N. officers interviewed said the group's goal never changed; it was to overthrow the Sandinista Government. Mr. Chamorro, who was the group's official spokesman, said: "When I'd say that in an interview, I'd immediately get called by the station chief. He'd send his assistant over who would tell me, 'That's not the language we want you to use.'"

Visits to Capital Recounted

Agency personnel frequently arranged for rebel officers to fly to Washington, where they would visit members of Congress "to lobby," Mr. Chamorro said. "They would tell us which senators and congressmen to see and what to say," and the C.I.A. officers would brief the rebels when members of Congress came to Honduras on fact-finding trips.

Mr. Chamorro, who frequently consulted old appointment books to refresh his memory as he talked last week, pointed to one page where he had noted a C.I.A. agent's briefing on Representative Geraldine Ferraro, who was planning a trip to Honduras last spring.

The notation said: "Very, very liberal" and "impressionable on religious issues."

Mr. Chamorro said the C.I.A. tried to direct the rebel group's military actions by controlling the supply of arms. About once a month, agency couriers brought cash to the group's office in Honduras, to pay for food for the soldiers. But the agency bought all the arms itself, several officers said.

For food, the agency paid about \$1

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